4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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the market, and he maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals: they drink for joy and sorrow: they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world: and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as their derivatives

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa-Cayapa, Cayapa-Negro, and Cayapa-White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents [Whiting and Child 1961:267].

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong *fiestas* at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoerotisism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but *erotic* in the sense of a transfer of libidinal effect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the *fiestas*. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against asexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child [1953:268]), why then do we not find it in the normal

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Afterward Alcon, the missionary in the Espejito Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he considers to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The emptiness of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong commitment to kindred alienates the fears of other people, the self-desire, the personal and social inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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The nexus between the realms of Cayuga law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivatives, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies: whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayuga fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.